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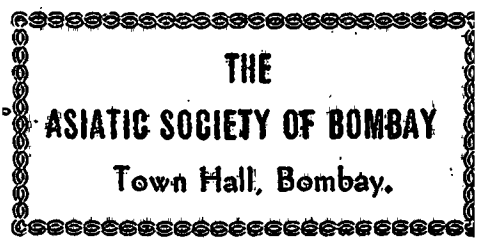

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THE TEMPLE AND THE SEPULCHRE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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THE TEMPLE AND THE SEPULCHRE.

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BY

S. SMITH, M.A.,

VICAR OF LOIS WEEDON, AND RURAL DEAN.

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PREFACE.

In the spring and summer of the present year the following letters—without the postscript—appeared in the pages of *The Reader*. But, in such nice points of topography and architectural detail as the present, the writer, unassisted by illustrations, felt it difficult in the extreme to place his meaning clearly before the eye. He has thought it advisable, therefore, to republish those letters, enlarged in some points, and diminished in others, and accompanied with outlines of the Holy Places in question at the different important stages of their history.

With reference to the authorities appealed to in these letters, it may be as well to state here, that even the best Mussulman writer—Jalal-Addin—has been rejected as a witness, for a very competent reason. After a close and

frequent perusal, it was found to be an utterly vain attempt to separate his jest from his earnest; the amusing absurdity of his legends from the possible facts which they entirely discredit. As, for instance, where the rock on which the temple was built is said to have been 'twelve thousand cubits in height, and the temple itself twelve miles high; and the space between it and heaven twelve miles more;' with other details equally absurd.

VICARAGE, LOIS WEEDON:
November, 1865.

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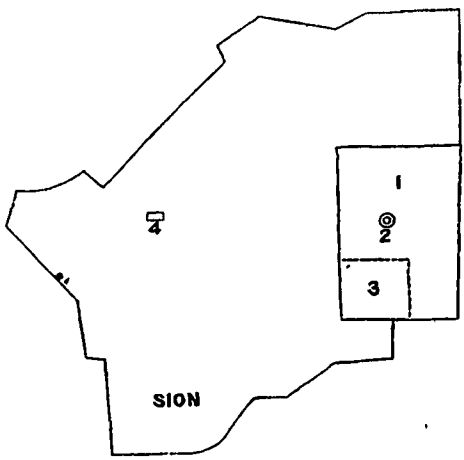
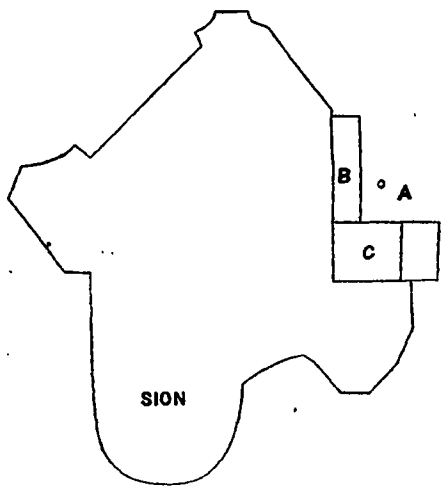
LETTER I.

OUTLINES OF JERUSALEM.



OUTLINE OF JERUSALEM, A.D. 1863.

1 Haram; 2 Dome of the Rock; 3 Site of the Temple; 4 Church, called Church of the Holy Sepulchre.



OUTLINE OF JERUSALEM, A.D. 33.

A Sepulchre; B Antonia; C Temple.

The site of The Temple on Mount Moriah—The Sepulchre on Mount Moriah face to face *with the site of The Temple.*

My attention has been called to the admirable report in *The Reader* of Mr. Fergusson's late lecture; and it has revived the deep interest I feel, in common with every thinking man, in The Temple of Herod and The Sepulchre of Christ. I join the two, for to my mind they are inseparable, and with your permission I will tell you how.

I am not unacquainted with the mediæval and modern literature of those holy places; but after all, I felt obliged to go back for satisfaction to the original records in Greek of Josephus, Eusebius, and Socrates. Of Mr. Fergusson I have no personal knowledge whatever, but I gladly offer my independent testimony, such as it is, to the general truth of his views. I believe that from those authors alone it can be proved

that the so-called Mosque of Omar stands over the spot of The Sepulchre, and the Mosque El-Aksa on the site of The Temple.

To take The Temple first. Josephus has so repeatedly asserted that The Temple of Herod was four-square, and that each side was a stadium, or 600 feet from out to out, that no words need be wasted on that point. Now the Haram within which it stood is very extensive, being not 600 feet square, but oblong, about 1,520 feet along the east wall, and something more along the west; and about 930 feet along the south wall, and something more along the north. For reasons which will be seen by and by, The Temple *could not* have stood in the centre of this large Haram, or in either of its angles but that of the south-west; for besides the reasons which will be seen hereafter, there only is the Jews' Place of Wailing at the stones of The Temple—there, evidently, was the bridge leading from the King's palace to the royal cloisters of The Temple—and there, lastly, on two sides of the angle, the allotted 600 feet of The Temple are clearly defined.

In what follows I have tried in vain to vary to any good purpose the account I have already

given in the Appendix to 'What I saw in Syria, Palestine, and Greece;' so that, if you think proper, I will reproduce it here, with a few additional remarks.

Before I proceed, however, I had better guard your classical readers against the errors of Valesius in his commentary on Eusebius. One will be sufficient to show his character. The new church at Jerusalem, built by Helena at the expense of Constantine, and so attributed to either, was called 'The New Jerusalem,' says Eusebius. Helena named it 'New Jerusalem,' says Socrates. 'That is quite a mistake,' says Valesius; 'for what is meant is, that Helena, having first built the new city of Jerusalem opposite the old city, went and did so and so.' (P. 228 of his Notes on Eusebius.)

I now go on to observe that, when Herod built The Temple on the site of the former one, he walled in at the same time a space of ground adjoining it of equal dimensions altogether with The Temple itself: *τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασε, καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνετειχίσατο χώραν τῆς οὔσης διπλασίαν.* (Josephus, *Bell.* i. 21, 1.)

He also built a Fortress for The Temple, and called it Antonia. It stood, says Josephus, at

the north-western corner of The Temple area, and communicated with the cloisters of The Temple by means of staircases: *Ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνία κατὰ γωνίαν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον, κ. τ. λ.* (*Bell.* v. 5, 8.)

The shape of Antonia must have been long and narrow—long from south to north, and narrow from east to west; for mention is made of Titus casting a mound during his siege against that part of the north cloister wall—*κατὰ τὴν βόρειον στοάν* (*Bell.* vi. 7)—which the Fortress did not touch.

The area of Antonia with its cloisters was about half that of The Temple, and ran the whole length of the remainder of the western wall of the Haram, terminating at its north-west angle. Its cloisters being 500 feet long and—with the intervening court—200 feet broad, made up the circuit of cloisters allotted by Josephus (*Bell.* v. 5, 2); for he says—speaking of The Temple cloisters as well—*πᾶς κύκλος αὐτῶν εἰς ἓξ σταδίους συνεμετρεῖτο, περιλαμβανομένης καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας.* The remainder of the allotted area being about 420 feet long by 200 broad, was occupied by the Fortress itself.

So that here, in the entire area of the Fortress Antonia, is about one-half of the additional space of 360,000 square feet (the space occupied by The Temple) enclosed by Herod; and the other half, with a fraction over, lay between the east side of The Temple and the wall.

It is thus clear that (A.D. 33) the Holy Rock stood in the country, at some little distance outside the Fortress Antonia, and the wall of The Temple, with its dyke, to the north of the latter. It stood on a space of ground entirely open to the country, with no obstructions whatever beyond the ordinary enclosures of gardens and cemeteries in the suburbs of a city.* And so it continued till ten or eleven years after the Crucifixion. Then it was that Agrippa did such great things by extending the walls of Jerusalem. For the population had increased to overflowing, and houses had begun to creep up the hill to the north of The Temple, beyond the circle of the ramparts, and so were quite naked and exposed. In order, therefore, to protect them, he built a new wall enclosing the hill Bezetha. This wall made a sharp angle at the north,

* See Plate I.

and running in a direct line to the dyke of the north wall of The Temple (called the Kedron dyke, from its opening eastward to the brook Kedron), it there joined the old wall of Herod to the east of The Temple : *τῷ ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συναπτὸν εἰς τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν.*

Τοῦτο τῇ προσκτισθείσῃ πόλει περιέθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, ἣ περ ἦν πᾶσα γυμνή (*Bell.* v. 4, 2). Not only so. The Fortress Antonia, as we have seen, ran along the west wall of the Haram to its north-west angle, and there terminated. In order to separate the Fortress from the hill Bezetha and its new town, Agrippa dug a deep trench (which doubtless extended to the new wall at the east), and thus greatly increased the height and security of Antonia.

So Bezetha was designedly cut off from Antonia *ὀρύγματι βαθεῖ διεταφρεύθη γὰρ ἐπιτηδὲς ὡς μὴ τῷ λόφῳ συναπτόντες οἱ θεμέλιοι τῆς Ἀντωνίας εὐπρόσιτοί τε εἶεν καὶ ἧττον ὑψηλοί. διὸ δὴ καὶ πλεῖστον ὕψος τοῖς πύργοις προσεδίδου τὸ βάθος τοῦ τάφρου.* (*Bell.* v. 4, 2.)

But all this took place *eleven years after the Crucifixion*, when, with the exception of those unprotected houses which had begun to creep

up the hill, the whole country to the north and north-east of The Temple was open and exposed: *ἥπερ ἦν πᾶσα γυμνή.*

There, then, in a garden outside the city and Temple walls altogether, stood the Holy Rock by itself. It did not stand, as it does now, with flights of steps around it leading up with architectural effect to any building placed over it, and then with other steps leading down of necessity to the cave within it. We will suppose the steps taken away altogether, and the rock standing out by itself, with an easy access to the cave, on the level platform of the garden. We will suppose, further, within a stone's throw of it, a small prominence in the shape of a skull, and the public pathway of the city running near it. We will go still further, and assume for the present that that prominence is Golgotha, and the cave of that rock The Sepulchre of Christ.

Thus consecrated by the most momentous event that ever occurred, what became of this rock, with its Sepulchre of Christ, after that? For three hundred years the whole city, with its suburbs, was in the hands of the heathen, who besieged it and burnt it and levelled it, walls,

towers, Temple and all, with the dust; and then rebuilt it, and called it by another name. And the very name of Jerusalem was long forgotten, and the actual spot of the Sepulchre of Christ was for ages blotted out from the knowledge of man.

Upon this point the language of the early historians is too plain to admit a doubt. In the fourth century, when Constantine and his mother Helena had become Christian, she had a dream which impelled her to go to Jerusalem. 'And she searched diligently,' says Socrates, 'for The Sepulchre in which Christ was buried, and out of which He arose, and with great difficulty, and by God's help, finds it:' *καὶ δυσχερῶς μὲν, σὺν Θεῷ δὲ εὑρίσκει.* The difficulty was briefly this: 'Seeing that they who regarded the things of Christ honoured His Sepulchre after His death, they who abhorred the things of Christ covered the spot with mounds of earth and built over it a temple to Venus, and set up her image, in order to do away the memory of the spot altogether; and up to the time of Helena's visit the design was successful:' *μηποιοῦντες μνήμην τοῦ τόπου· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πάλαι προὐχώρει.* (Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* i. xvii.)

And so speaks Eusebius of the long success of their infamous scheme: *τῶν ἀθέων καὶ δυσσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μηχανήματα μακροῖς παρετείνετο χρόνοις* (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* iii. 26). He speaks, too, of the discovery of The Sepulchre being unexpected and beyond all hope: *παρ' ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ἀνεφάνετο.* (28.)

The truth is that the undissembled design of heathendom, with intervals of contemptuous toleration, was, by means such as this, utterly to root out even the name of Christianity from the earth. They persecuted and tortured and slew its resolute believers, and threw down its churches, and burned every copy of the Scriptures that could be found (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* viii. 2). Had they succeeded in this last most deep and satanic object, all, humanly speaking, would have been over. But God in His mercy willed otherwise; and Constantine became Christian, and hidden copies of the Scriptures came forth, and churches were rebuilt, and The Sepulchre of Christ, the author of our faith, was brought to light. Nor was that all. It matters not which of the royal house, mother or son, built that church over the

Holy Rock. The New Jerusalem was built *face to face* with the celebrated one of old: ἡ νέα κατεσκευάζετο Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ πάλαι βοωμένῃ. (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* iii. 33.)

And so Socrates: 'On the very spot of The Sepulchre the Emperor's mother built a magnificent house of prayer, and called it New Jerusalem, having made it *face to face* with that desolate old one.' οἶκον μὲν εὐκτήριον ἐν τῷ τοῦ μνήματος τόπῳ πολυτελῆ κατεσκεύασεν, Ἱερουσαλήμ τε νέαν ἐπωνόμασεν, ἀντιπρόσωπον τῇ παλαιῇ ἐκείνῃ καὶ καταλελειμμένῃ ποιήσασα. (Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 17.)*

The Church thus built was called 'New Jerusalem,' a symbol of the Church of Christ; The Temple of Herod, 'Old Jerusalem,' a symbol of the Church of the Jews.

The conclusion to me was irresistible. When I stood, as I did, by the Holy Rock in the Haram, looking south, I stood on the site of the Church of Constantine, *face to face* with the site of The Temple of Herod.

* See Plate II. frontispiece.

LETTER II.

The Gospel account of The Sepulchre—Account by Eusebius of the finding and appearance of The Sepulchre—A Church built by Constantine over The Sepulchre—Mr. Fergusson proves, by architectural evidence, that that Church exists in the Dome of the Rock.

'WHEN I was at Jerusalem, and stood, as I did, by the Holy Rock in the Haram, looking south, I stood on the site of the Church of Constantine, face to face with the site of The Temple of Herod.'

It is even so. With the utmost sincerity I repeat the utterance of my firm conviction that there, in the south-west corner of the Haram, once stood The Temple of the Jews—that there, face to face with it, now stands The Sepulchre of Christ. For what are the facts from the beginning? The words are precious words, and should be weighed scrupulously to a fraction. When Jesus was crucified, and it was found that He was actually dead, Joseph of

Arimathea, who had property in the land close by, went to Pilate, and with great moral courage demanded of him permission to remove the body; and having succeeded, assisted by Nicodemus he took it away. 'Now in the place where Jesus was crucified, there was a garden' (belonging to this devout man), 'and in the garden a new Sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid.' So writes John xix. 41 (*ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη, κῆπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καινὸν, ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἐτέθη*). And so speak all the Evangelists of the cave of the rock in which the body was laid. In Joseph's 'own new sepulchre which he had hewn out in the rock,' says Matthew xxvii. 60 (*ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ ὃ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ*). 'In a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock,' says Mark xv. 46 (*ἐν μνημείῳ ὃ ἦν λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας*). 'In a sepulchre which was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid,' says Luke xxiii. 53 (*ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ οὗ οὐκ ἦν οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς κείμενος*).

'There laid they Jesus, therefore' (in haste), because of the Jews' preparation day' (and they were able to carry out their pious design expeditiously); '*for* The Sepulchre was nigh at hand'

(to the spot where Jesus was crucified).—John xix. 42 (*ἐκεῖ οὖν διὰ παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνῆμεῖον, ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν*).

And this Sepulchre which was hewn out of the living rock, was a cave which could be entered with ease. It was, besides, large enough to hold several persons at a time; for Mary Magdalene, and Johanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, were in the Cave, when behold! two men stood by them in shining garments (Luke xxiii. 55, xxiv. 1–10). It was without the city, necessarily, because it is said that Jesus, in order 'that He might sanctify the people with His own blood, suffered without the gate' (Hebrews xiii. 12—*ἔξω τῆς πύλης ἔπαθε*); actually, because Jesus, according to the narrative, was led out of the city to be crucified, *ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σταυρῶσαι* (Matthew xxvii. 31), when they met Simon coming into the city *ἀπ' ἀγροῦ* (Mark xv. 21). And so Jesus 'went forth' (from the city—*ἐξῆλθεν*) into a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha, where they crucified Him.

That is all the testimony we find in Scripture relating to The Sepulchre of Christ. And for

three hundred years after the Crucifixion there is no authentic witness to it whatever. Then came Eusebius, and some little time after him Socrates, and all became clear. Diligent search was made, and The Sepulchre was found at last buried beneath a heathen abomination erected to Venus. And how her temple was removed, and even the soil on which it stood above The Sepulchre was cast out with loathing, and the ground levelled, I need not repeat. But I have not yet quoted from Eusebius the wonder with which the μνημεῖον was brought to light again. Very remarkable are the words which describe it—a wonderful photograph of the Holy Rock as it exists at this moment. 'The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out; a cave which had now been cut out in a rock and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that corpse only. *For it is astonishing to see even this rock standing out erect and alone, in a level land, and having only one cavern in it,* lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame death should have been obscured.' (Theophania, B. iii. 61. Lee's translation.)

Nor need I repeat how Constantine and Helena together (besides building the Basilica) built over the newly-found μνημεῖον itself a round church, much adorned, and with magnificent columns of marble, and called it, symbolically, the 'New Jerusalem.'

But one thing I feel bound to do—to add my feeble testimony to that of others (who are increasing in number and weight), to the sagacity and perseverance of a countryman of ours—an architect of the highest eminence, a master builder, too, in literature, who has also searched diligently, and gone to the spot and found out in the Dome of the Rock the very church which Constantine built. And now (to me) so complete is the evidence, that, with a little stretch of imagination, I can go back in person to the year 333, and look on at the nearly-finished work. I turn pilgrim, and cross over, and reach Bordeaux. I talk villanous Latin, which few understand, but I get to Jerusalem still. I hasten to Sion gate to go by the path outside the wall to the 'New City Gate,' just built by Constantine, as a fitting approach to the 'New Jerusalem.' I enter the gate and go through the porch, and then pause. To the left, I see a

small eminence (I call it 'Monticulus') shaped like a skull: it is the actual Golgotha. Westward of this, but still to the left, within a stone's throw, is the 'New Jerusalem,' the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with the Basilica hard by. Down in the valley to the right is the traditional house of Pilate. And before I cast off my pilgrim dress, I place myself in front of the venerated building; and, looking south, I am told, and I believe, that I stand face to face with the desolate site of The Temple of Herod.

I see no difficulties to stagger my faith. For with regard to the present state of the Cave of the Rock—when I think of what has taken place in Jerusalem since the Crucifixion—first, the horrors of the long siège, and the underground struggles of the besieged for life by any means—then the Persian ravages—and, lastly, the open abominations of the Mussulman rule, broken only by the unchecked dissoluteness of the Crusaders—the piercing of the floor of the sacred Cave down to one of the drains with which the whole Haram is honeycombed—does not weigh with me the weight of a feather. One thing is quite certain—that this living Rock had nothing whatever to do with The Temple

altar; for we learn from Josephus, who is quoting an account of The Temple by Hecatæus, that the square altar was not formed out of the natural living rock, but '*was put together with rough unhewn stones*,' ἐν ᾧ βωμός ἐστι τετράγωνος, οὐκ ἐκ τμητῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ συλλέκτων ἀργῶν λίθων οὕτω συγκείμενος· κ.τ.λ. (Jos. cont. Apionem, i. 22.)

There is indeed a theory, that the opening which has been found in the floor of the Cave was designed for the refuse of the altar sacrifices of some temple near it or above it; and therefore it is concluded that that cave could not have been The Sepulchre of Christ.

If the theory be received as true, I too accept it willingly as an actual boon in my favour—an additional evidence that that was indeed the spot of the burial. For what are the circumstances of The Holy Sepulchre? Nothing is more clear than that, after the Resurrection of Christ, the heathen did all they could to desecrate the spot and to hide it from His disciples. For this purpose they covered it with earth, and raised over it a temple to Venus, and made their blood-offerings to her on the altar. And, to crown the indignity, we may well suppose that

they pierced through the floor of the sacred Cave to discharge the refuse from the altar sacrifices above it.

That being the case, I claim the abomination as another proof that what is now the Dome of the Rock was the Church built by Constantine over the Sepulchre of Christ.

LETTER III.

Details of The Temple by Josephus—History of The Sepulchre by Eusebius and Socrates to the time of Constantine.

I BELIEVE in the trustworthiness of Josephus. I believe him when he says that Herod rebuilt The Temple of the Jews, and made it four-square, its four sides being 600 feet each. For reasons which need not be repeated, I believe that he built it in the south-western angle of what is now the Haram. I believe that the south wall of The Temple ran eastward 600 feet and there terminated; but that attached to it, and still running eastward, a wall so low as not to disturb the symmetry of The Temple square was carried on nearly 330 feet farther, and then turned almost at right angles, and ran northward 600 feet; that this low wall then turned at right angles again, and ran westward, and joined the north wall of The Temple; the east wall of the lofty Temple looking down on the

deep enclosure below, which made an oblong square of about 330 feet by 600.

The Fortress Antonia was, by means of its cloisters, attached to The Temple at its north-west angle, and ran, 200 feet wide, the whole length of the intervening space to the north-west angle of the Haram. The whole length or circuit (κύκλος) of the cloisters of Herod, including *the cloisters* (not the Fortress, mind) of Antonia, was 6 stadia, or 3,600 feet; so that, reckoning 4 stadia, or 2,400 feet, for The Temple cloisters, 2 stadia, or 1,200 feet, of cloisters, belonged to Antonia. They commenced at the junction with The Temple, and, being of the same height with those of The Temple, disturbed the symmetry of the ἱερόν, within which were included the cloisters, courts, and the sacred ναός. Assuming that these cloisters of the Fortress ran 500 feet along its western wall, and 500 feet along its eastern wall, and to have been then connected at the point where they touched the actual Fortress by another 200 feet of cloisters running east and west, the whole length of cloisters required by Josephus would be obtained. The remaining space was devoted to the turreted Fortress itself.*

* See Plate I. frontispiece.

Had it been permitted to introduce here the outline of The Temple and of the Fortress, as given in the Appendix to 'What I Saw in Syria, Palestine, and Greece' (Longmans), there would have been no need of so many words; but, as it is, I must go on and say that in Herod's time and A.D. 33 the outer City Wall to the east was connected with the western wall of Antonia, and ran northward, leaving Bezetha unprotected and open to the country. There was then no wall (as there is now) to the east of Antonia, and no wall (as there is now) to the north of The Temple; but over all the open country frowned the high northern wall of The Temple, and the fortified turrets of Antonia, careless of what was about to happen—the most important event in the annals of the world; for, within less than 200 feet from that northern wall and from Antonia, our crucified Lord at that time was hurriedly laid in His temporary Sepulchre in the living Rock, exactly opposite to, face to face with, the doomed Temple of the merciless Jews. There He lay for three days, dead but incorruptible, and then came forth alive, and The Sepulchre was empty.

The scene now changes. Eleven years have passed since the Crucifixion, and Agrippa en-

closes the hill Bezetha, and builds a wall from north to south (in a line probably with the present wall), and unites it with the old eastern wall of Herod, 600 feet from the south-east corner of the Haram.

Again the scene changes. Jerusalem is captured, and the whole ancient city—walls, towers, Temple, and all—is levelled with the dust, and awaits even now, after a burial of upwards of 1,700 years, the tool of the excavator to raise its remains from the dead.

More than two centuries pass by, and lo! another change still. Jerusalem, long rebuilt, is explored; and the buried Sepulchre of Christ is found, though with great difficulty, and only 'with the help of God;' and there, at this moment, face to face with, exactly opposite to, the desolated Temple of the cast-off Jews, stands the living Rock in which He was laid, within the actual church raised over it at the time it was found.

Such is the narrative which a correspondent in your journal, by his objections, still further confirms. For he says that, 'Josephus tells us that The Temple was not a square in plan until the Jews had destroyed the cloisters.'

But that The Temple, according to Josephus, *was* four-square from the beginning is clear; for he speaks of it (Ant. xv. 11, 3), *ὥστ' ἄπορον εἶναι τό τε μέγεθος τῆς οἰκοδομῆς καὶ τὸ ὕψος τετραγώνου γενομένης.* And that *τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὸ πᾶν περίβολος, τεττάρων σταδίων τὸν κυκλὸν ἔχων, ἑκάστης γωνίας στάδιον μῆκος ἀπολαμβανούσης.*

Now, there was a dark, unheeded prophecy among the Jews, that 'when the *ἱερόν*' (which they saw to be *τετραγώνον*) 'should become *τετραγώνον*, the city and the sacred *ναός* would be taken.'

In confirmation of the views I advocate as to the position, shape, and size of The Temple and of Antonia, the force of the argument from this strange saying, which was strangely fulfilled, cannot be overvalued; for, during the siege of Titus, the Jews, in defence of The Temple, did restore the symmetry of the *ἱερόν*, and make it actually *τετραγώνον* by the cutting off (*καταίρεσιν*) of the cloisters of Antonia, from the north-western wall of the *ἱερόν* with which they were connected. The rest of Antonia, with its fortified towers, was held by the Romans till all was over, Titus himself directing

the operations from that high tower on the south-eastern angle which overlooked the whole.

Again, your correspondent says that 'the whole city—walls, towers, Temple, and all—was not levelled with the dust.' No, not wholly by Titus; but the little which Titus left was levelled afterwards. For our present purpose, it will be enough to show from Josephus that what Titus left was only three towers, and a part of the western wall, with which I have nothing to do; all the rest of Jerusalem to the east—The Temple and its walls, the new city Bezetha, the walls of Agrippa—all were levelled by Titus with the dust, down to their foundations. He left nothing above ground remaining. Whatever afterwards came to light was excavated, or was the remnant in after times of attempts to rebuild. *τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἅπαντα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, ὡς μηδὲ πώποτ' οἰκοθῆναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι παρασχεῖν τοῖς προσελθοῦσι.* (B. 1, vii. 1, 1.)

Once more: 'I must again remind Mr. Smith that Eusebius never states that either Constantine or Helena built a church *over* The Sepulchre. The only church built was on the east of the

Rock.' I do not forget it. I cannot forget that your correspondent asserts there was but one church; while Eusebius asserts there were two—one, a house of prayer at the Saviour's Sepulchre; the other, a holy church in honour of the Saviour's cross. *κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, οἶκον εὐκτήριον παμμεγέθη, νεώντε ἅγιον τῷ σωτηρίῳ σημείῳ πλουσίως καὶ δαψιλέσι κατεκόσμει φιλοτιμίαις.* (Eus. de Laud. Const. E. ix.)

The details briefly are these: When Constantine recovered The Sepulchre of Christ, in the pious ardour of his delight, he instantly ordered it to be enclosed round about by a magnificent and becoming house of prayer. *οἶκον εὐκτήριον θεοπρεπῆ ἀμφὶ τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον, κ.τ.λ.* (Eus. V. Const. xxix.). His orders were obeyed, and at the Saviour's actual tomb the new Jerusalem was built—*καὶ δὴ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, ἡ νέα, κ. τ. λ.* (xxxiii.). This was his first act of devotion—the head, as it were, of all: a simple round building, very beautiful, requiring, from its simplicity, little notice, except for its choice pillars and rich decorations—*τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ὡσανεί, κ. τ. λ.* (xxxiv.)

Not '*over* The Sepulchre?' How could it be round it, and the roof not over it? Twice, too, does Eusebius say that this house of prayer was *at* (κατά) the Holy Sepulchre. And Socrates winds up with his Greek interpretation of the Greek of Eusebius, that this house of prayer was built in the very spot of The Sepulchre—ἐν τῷ τοῦ μνήματος τόπῳ. (i. 17.)

After this came the other church spoken of before by Eusebius—the Basilica, in honour of the Holy Cross and of the Resurrection, at the east of The Sepulchre—the complex details of which required a full description, and that description Eusebius gives.

It is for the classical reader, in all these cases, to decide which he will follow—the original record in Greek of Josephus, Eusebius, and Socrates, or your correspondent.

LETTER IV.

Arculfus visits Jerusalem A. D. 697, *and leaves a plan of The Sepulchre with its position on Mount Moriah—The sepulchre of St. James by the north Wall of the Temple.*

AT the outset of my correspondence, I gave utterance to my firm conviction that, from the original records in Greek of Josephus, Eusebius, and Socrates alone, the sites could be determined of The Temple of Herod and The Sepulchre of Christ; that under the Dome of the Rock stands the Holy Sepulchre—at the Mosque El Aksa stood The Temple of the Jews.

I will here sum up the argument, and prove its truth. In an ordinary sum there is a certain rule by which to prove its correctness. In the present instance I have such a rule, to my mind so certain and undeniable, that scarcely any points of ancient topography are left freer from doubt than these. It proves that the Round Church of Constantine was built over the Holy Rock; that that church, in form, was like the

Dome of the Rock; that it stood in the Haram on Mount Moriah, face to face with the site of The Temple of Herod.

About three or four centuries after the building of this church, a pilgrimage was made to Jerusalem by the French Bishop Arculfus. He remained there several months, noting with the greatest precision the holy places he went out to see. On his return homewards to France, the vessel he was in was driven out of its line to the coast of Scotland, and he was hospitably entertained in the island of Iona by Adamnanus, the Abbot of St. Columba. The travelled guest amply repaid the courtesy; for besides telling his inquisitive host all he had seen, he drew a rough plan on a waxen tablet of the Round Church over The Sepulchre, and of the relative position of the Basilica of Constantine, with the churches, which had afterwards been added, of Golgotha and St. Mary.

We cannot be too thankful that the foresight of the grateful Abbot led him to copy this plan and to hand it down to posterity; for that copy is in existence at this moment, in the 'Acta Sanctorum' of MM. d'Achery and Mabillon (Vol. IV.).

In this plan of Arculfus, then, I find the rule

by which to prove my sum; for not only did Adamnanus transcribe it, but he added remarks to it, and gave references, by letters, to each remarkable spot.

First in the plan stands the Round Church over The Sepulchre, with its two circular aisles, and the Holy Rock in the centre. It is, in fact, a rude outline, such as a schoolboy, unable to draw an octagon, would make of the Dome of the Rock as we see it. The aisle nearest to the Rock is marked in the reference (letter E) *Ecclesia.* Thus my rule proves, first of all, that the Round Church of Constantine was built *over* The Sepulchre. 'Upon these two points,' says Adamnanus, 'I particularly interrogated Arculfus: præcipuè de Sepulchro Domini et *ecclesiâ super illud constructâ.*'

Next in the plan, to the east, and adhering to the Round Church, was an enclosed court (letters K K), Adamnanus remarking that 'inter *Anastasim*—hoc est, illam sæpe suprà memoratam rotundam ecclesiam, et Basilicam Constantini, quædam patet *plateola.*' This court was so extensive as to contain within it Golgotha, which, says the Bordeaux pilgrim, was a stone's cast from The Sepulchre. In his time (A.D. 333) Calvary was a small open elevated mound

('monticulus'). In the time of Arculfus (A.D. 695) it was covered over by a church called *Golgotha* (letter F).

Still farther east, attached to the eastern wall of this court, was the '*Basilica* magno cultu à rege Constantino constructa, quæ et Martyrium appellatur' (letters M K).

We must now go back to the plateola, in order that I may usher in the final proof, which (to my mind) closes the argument and puts it beyond a doubt.

Abraham was dwelling at Beersheba, a distance on foot of something more than two days' journey from Jerusalem. In order to mark the precise time of the solemn event which follows, it is said that, after a sojourn of many days with his allies, the Philistines, God commanded Abraham to go and sacrifice his son on a certain mountain in the land of Moriah. And the aged patriarch went forth on foot with Isaac, and two lads to attend to the laden ass. On the third morning he caught a distant view of the appointed hill (higher then than when the summit was afterwards levelled to receive The Temple), but not too far off to enable him to do what he was bidden, and to come back to his two young men with the ass and the tent, and to go a part of

the way homewards to Beersheba the same day. 'So Abraham returned to his young men, and they rose up and went together to Beersheba.' (Gen. xxii. 19.)

Where was this precise mountain on which God had told him to sacrifice his son? The Jews, in uninterrupted succession, should know; and they declare with one voice that it was Mount Moriah, the present Haram. Augustine quotes Jerome as saying, 'se certissimè à senioribus Judæorum cognovisse quod ibi immolatus sit Isaac' (De Civit. Dei, xvi. 32). To fix it, however, and put it beyond a question, Josephus says (Book I. 13) that the offering was made on the mountain where The Temple was afterwards built.

Here, then, is my conclusive proof. In the court adjoining the Church of The Sepulchre, just between it and the great Basilica, and close to Golgotha, there is marked in the plan of Arculfus (letter G) the spot where Abraham prepared to slay his son; 'accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead; from which he received him in a figure' (Heb. xi. 19). That, says Adamnanus, was 'ille famosus locus in quo Abraham patriarcha altare composuit, super illud imponens lignorum

struem, et ut Isaac immolaret filium suum evaginatum eripuit gladium.' (vii.)

So that near the actual spot on Mount Moriah where the sacrifice of Abraham and the restoration of Isaac took place, there took place the sacrifice and resurrection of Christ. Where the type was exhibited there was exhibited the antitype too. I have reason then, I conceive, to repeat with confidence that when I was in Jerusalem, and stood, as I did, by the Holy Rock in the Haram, looking south, I stood on the site of the Round Church of Constantine, face to face with the site of The Temple of Herod.*

After this it might be thought unnecessary to speak of the objection as to the nearness of The Sepulchre to the wall of The Temple. But it has been so frequently and strongly urged that I am induced to meet it by the following narrative.

Jesus left behind Him a brother, so called by the apostles, of such preeminent holiness and integrity, as to be named the Just. He continued in Jerusalem thirty years after the Ascension, and was chosen as the head—the presiding Bishop

* See Plate II. frontispiece.

of the infant Church. His influence appears to have been almost unbounded with all parties, and it was brought in the following manner to a premature and terrible close. At the feast of the Passover a concourse of Jews assembled on the level area at the north wall of The Temple —the only spot outside The Temple where they could assemble en masse—and the Scribes and Pharisees there took counsel regarding the rapid and extensive increase of believers in Jesus as the Messiah. It must be checked by some means, and the readiest means would be to persuade James, the brother of Jesus, whose influence was so irresistible, and induce him to persuade the assembled Jews that Jesus was not the Christ. So they led him to the flat roof of the cloisters, and, first instructing and commanding him as to his expected duty, they placed him on the broad parapet (called the pinna—τὸ πτερύγιον) of the outer wall of The Temple, and desired him to address the people below, for they added, 'from this high spot you can be seen and well heard by all.' And then going down and mixing with the crowd, they called out and said: 'O thou just one, whom all of us are bound to believe, tell us, since the people are

all being deluded by the error of the crucified Jesus, what is this same "door," which they speak of in Jesus the crucified?' And James answered with a loud voice, 'Why ask ye me of Jesus the Son of Man? It is even He who sitteth in heaven at the right hand of the Great Power, and who is about to come upon the clouds of heaven!' And the words gave fresh encouragement to many believers in Jesus, and they burst out into loud Hosannas to the Son of David. But the Scribes and Pharisees were thunder-struck. They saw their error and determined on revenge; and exclaiming, 'O ho! even the just man is deluded!' they rushed up the steps, and seized him and cast him down headlong from the parapet. But the height was not sufficient to destroy him; so going down, and finding him still alive, they said among themselves, 'Let us stone James the Just;' and they began to stone him. But he turned on his knees and said, 'I entreat thee, Lord God the Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!' And a Rechabite priest called out to them and said, 'Stay your hands! What do ye? The just man is praying for you.' It was of no avail. A certain fuller with his club levelled a blow at

his head, and so, by a blessed martyrdom, he died. And they buried him on the spot, and 'his memorial remains even now, near the site of The Temple.'

That St. James was indeed buried by the wall of The Temple, on the very spot where he fell, we have ample authority of the best description. About eighty years after the event, that most trustworthy writer Hegesippus (A.D. 150), quoted by Eusebius, unhesitatingly asserted that where he fell there they buried him, and recorded the event by a memorial stone, *καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἡ στήλη μένει παρὰ τῷ ναῷ.* 'It was a rude, shapeless stone—*ἄμορφος*'—says the Greek scholiast, 'on which the name was inscribed of James, who was buried there;' and doubtless, from the very circumstance of its rudeness, it escaped unnoticed and uninjured through all the vicissitudes of that fearful period.

And Eusebius concurs with Hegesippus, and so does Clement; and lastly, Jerome—whom nothing escaped, and who may be almost said (so near was Bethlehem) to have dwelt on the spot—confirms the fact in the most positive terms: 'Juxtà Templum,' he says, 'ubi et præcipitatus fuerat, sepultus est.' Adding, that the

inscription on the stone record was quite visible at the siege of Titus, and even up to the utter demolition of the city by Hadrian. 'Some indeed among us have supposed that he was buried on Mount Olivet; but their supposition is false—falsa eorum opinio est.' (C. 2, De Vir. Ill.)

And that the martyrdom and the burial took place at the north wall of The Temple is equally clear. For they placed James in such a position on the parapet that he could not only be well seen, but his words well heard by everyone. 'Go up,' said his enemies to him, *ἵνα ἄνωθεν ᾖς ἐπιφανὴς καὶ ᾖ εὐακουστά σου τὰ ῥήματα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ.* (Euseb. Hist. l. 2.)

Anyone acquainted with the plan of the Temple and its position on Mount Moriah, knows full well that a fall either from its western or southern wall (for the eastern wall was enclosed) must have been inevitably fatal from its extraordinary height; and for the words of St. James to have been well heard from either one or the other would have been utterly impossible. It follows, then, that the holy martyr stood on the north wall, and fell about ten feet from its foundation, and was there buried on the spot, within a hundred yards of The Sepulchre of Jesus Himself.

LETTER V.

History of The Sepulchre from the reign of Constantine to the present time.

In this my final letter I purpose to carry on to the end the narrative of The Sepulchre which I left incomplete. In doing so I take almost solely the plain authentic annals and dates of the Patriarch Eutychius, and the history of the Crusades, by William Archbishop of Tyre, and translating the original words closely and correctly, as I believe, follow them boldly to their logical conclusion. I will add here, in order to avoid misapprehension, that when I speak of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre I call it by its historical name the *Anastasis* (the smaller μαρτύριον, built on the actual *site* of the Burial and the Resurrection). The other church I call the *Basilica* (the μέγα μαρτύριον, built *in honour* of the Cross and the Resurrection, and so called the Church of the Resurrection). And to these two churches of Constantine, which are the real

subjects for consideration, I principally confine myself. Not that these two churches stood alone on Mount Moriah; for between the time of Constantine and the restoration of the Christian buildings damaged by Chosroes, two other churches were built—St. Mary's to the south, and that over the spot of the Crucifixion, named Golgotha, within the court. But the site of The Sepulchre is our point; and it will make it all the clearer if we keep our eye fixed steadily upon that and the Basilica alone.

Before I proceed with my narrative, I would linger a moment in admiration of the range of buildings erected by Constantine, when he recovered the Sepulchre.* I can conceive nothing upon earth, for situation, interest, and beauty combined, able to approach it. First came the church round the Sepulchre itself, highly ornamented in every way—ἐξαιρέτοις κίοσι, κόσμῳ τε πλείστῳ—decked with columns of matchless value, which exist at this moment. Its symmetry and grace externally can be imagined if we assume the building to be represented by that of the Dome of the Rock.

* See Plate II. frontispiece.

Attached to the eastern entrance to this church was an open court, as wide and as long as the diameter of the church, with corridors on three of its sides.

A grand Basilica, of the same width as the court, was built on to its eastern wall—the interior blazing with gold and marble and mosaics, in form and magnificence somewhat like that of St. Paul's in Rome.

Nor can anything be conceived more touching than the public services in this primitive but gorgeous cathedral. Ten years after its completion, before the gold had become dim, St. Cyril was the preacher, and his lectures have come down to us—exceedingly simple, short, condensed, requiring but little change to be fitted for a modern audience. Before Easter it appears he lectured in the Basilica, the wide western doors of which opened into the court; so that, while preaching, he could point to a gentle swelling in its marble floor to the left —it was *Golgotha*; while, in full view, still farther west, through the eastern door of the Round Church, rose up in its centre the Holy Rock, the actual *Sepulchre of Christ.* From the pulpit of the Basilica he spoke of the Cross;

and on the day appointed he led his hearers into the open court, and dwelt on the Crucifixion itself on the very spot of Golgotha, '*Ἐν ᾧ νῦν, διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ σταυρωθέντα, συγκεκροτήμεθα,*' said he: 'on which we are now assembled' (L. iv.). 'And after Easter ye shall assemble in the place where He rose from the dead, the Anastasis, and there, God willing, ye shall hear lectures of another kind.' (L. xviii. 33.)

Another touch of reality brings the very bounds before us within which Jesus was buried —'*a garden*, and in the garden The Sepulchre hewn in stone.' 'For,' said the preacher, three or four hundred years after the Crucifixion, 'the space around the tomb was a garden once; and though the greatest part of it is adorned with princely gifts, and so covered over, some tokens and remnants of it, as you see, still exist.' *κῆπος ἦν πρότερον, καὶ τὰ σύμβολα τούτου μένει καὶ τὰ λείψανα.* (L. xiv.)

Once more: It is quite clear that when Jerusalem was destroyed the whole eastern portion of the city—walls, towers, Temple, and all—was levelled with the ground, so that 'none passing by could believe that it had ever been inhabited' (Jos. b. vii. i.). But though this was the case in

the time of Eusebius, who was nearly contemporary with Cyril, the ground had been stirred, and blocks of the fine work of The Temple lay upon the surface. So that the holy Bishop might have stood at the south entrance of the Anastasis, the emblem of the new Covenant, and, looking south, might have pointed with emotion to the site of the desolated emblem of that old Covenant which had passed away for ever.

Such was the state of the Haram in the days of St. Cyril (350 A. D.), when it was kept and guarded as jealously as the precincts of an English cathedral. What was it soon after 1010 A.D.? It is fully described by William of Tyre, who says that at each angle of its boundary wall, and at each of its western gates leading into the city, was a lofty tower, from the summit of which Saracen priests called the people to prayer. At one end of the Haram, in its declivity to the south, stands the Mosque of Omar, called The Temple of the Lord, or of Solomon, erected on the actual spot of the sacred Temple of old. 'In declivo ejus quod ad austrum respicit.' Again, in order to fix the locality by repetition, 'ab austro domum habet regiam, quæ vulgari appellatione Templum

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Salomonis appellatur.' In the middle of the Haram, he goes on, there is a raised platform, and upon it an octagonal temple, with the rock and the cave within it as we see it now. (Gesta Dei, l. viii. 3.)

What caused this change? The circumstances were these. From the time of St. Cyril till the irruption of Chosroes in 615 A. D., all appears to have gone well with these churches in Jerusalem. Then, however, they were barbarously fired by the Persians, and so damaged as to require partial restoration; and though they were restored, according to William of Tyre (c. i. 1), to their former condition as to shape and material—*in priorem statum*—it is not surprising that columns and capitals and other details of the existing Anastasis should now be wanting, as they are, in that accuracy of composition which they had at the first.

Shortly after that, in 637 A.D., came the conquest of Jerusalem by Omar. But he was tolerant and upright, and left every Christian church untouched, engaging besides to build only one single Mahometan mosque in the city. But that mosque was to be the holiest, next to that of Mecca, in the world. It was to be built

on the site of the Temple of Solomon, within the ναός of which was the sacred stone, the Petra, the pillar of Jacob—'quam appellavit Jacobus Petram cœli, Israelitæ autem Sanctum sanctorum.' Out of the heap of stones on which Jacob slept his head had rested on that chosen shaft; and while sleeping he had seen the great vision, and he said, 'This is none other but the House of God!' And he called the place Bethel. And he took the stone—for, like the black stone at Mecca, it was small and movable—and set it up and anointed it. And now Omar sought it out and recovered it, and built a mosque on the spot, and placed the stone behind it. 'Struxit ergo Omar Templum, cujus in parte posteriore Petram statuit.'—Eutych. *Ann.*

In 685 A.D. two rival claimants contended for the Caliphate. Ebn Zobair had this popular advantage, that he had got possession of Mecca, and pilgrims without number flocked to the Caaba to kiss the black stone and claim its blessing. This wonder-working treasure is a small stone set in silver and imbedded in the temple wall, just high enough for the faithful to kiss. It had been turned from white to black, it was said, through the sins of the people, and was of

such virtue that, kissed by the pilgrim in faith, it would bear witness in his favour at the day of judgment, when it will be gifted with sight and speech.

But the Caliph de jure *Merwan* Abdil Malec (685–705 A. D.) dwelt at Damascus; and he sent to Jerusalem, and enlarged the mosque built by Omar, till he could move the holy Petra which had been placed by his predecessor behind The Temple, and convey it within. Templum auxit donec Petram in ipsum inferret (Eutych. Ann.), and ordered pilgrimages to be made to Jerusalem, and not to Mecca.

It was at this precise period, 697 A. D., that Arculfus visited Jerusalem, and saw this vast Saracen building in its rudeness, and thought it large enough to hold 3,000 people. His account, together with that of his interpreter, Bede (*de Locis sanctis*), is of great value and interest, for it tells us of the long-lost bridge, of which there are remnants still existing, and of the exact locality of The Temple. 'In the lower part of the city, where The Temple, erected near the eastern side of the Haram wall, had been joined on to the city itself by means of a way-bridge

for crossing over, the Saracens have now built a quadrangular mosque.' 'In inferiori parte urbis, ubi Templum in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum ipsique urbi transitum pervio ponte mediante fuerat conjunctum, nunc Saraceni, quadratam domum subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias vili opere construentes, oratione frequentant, quæ tria millia hominum capere videtur.'

The son of Merwan, *Walid* Abdil Malec (705–715 A.D.), did greater things still for that mosque. It was the only mosque in Jerusalem; so he raised it, and adorned it with fresco, and, placing the Petra, the pillar of Jacob, in the middle of the 'Chapel of the Holy Stone,' encircled it with an edifice cased with marble, and covered the chapel itself with a splendid dome; after which he commanded pilgrimages to be made to the Petra itself, the virtues of which, being none other than the Gate of Heaven, were even greater than those of the black stone of Mecca.

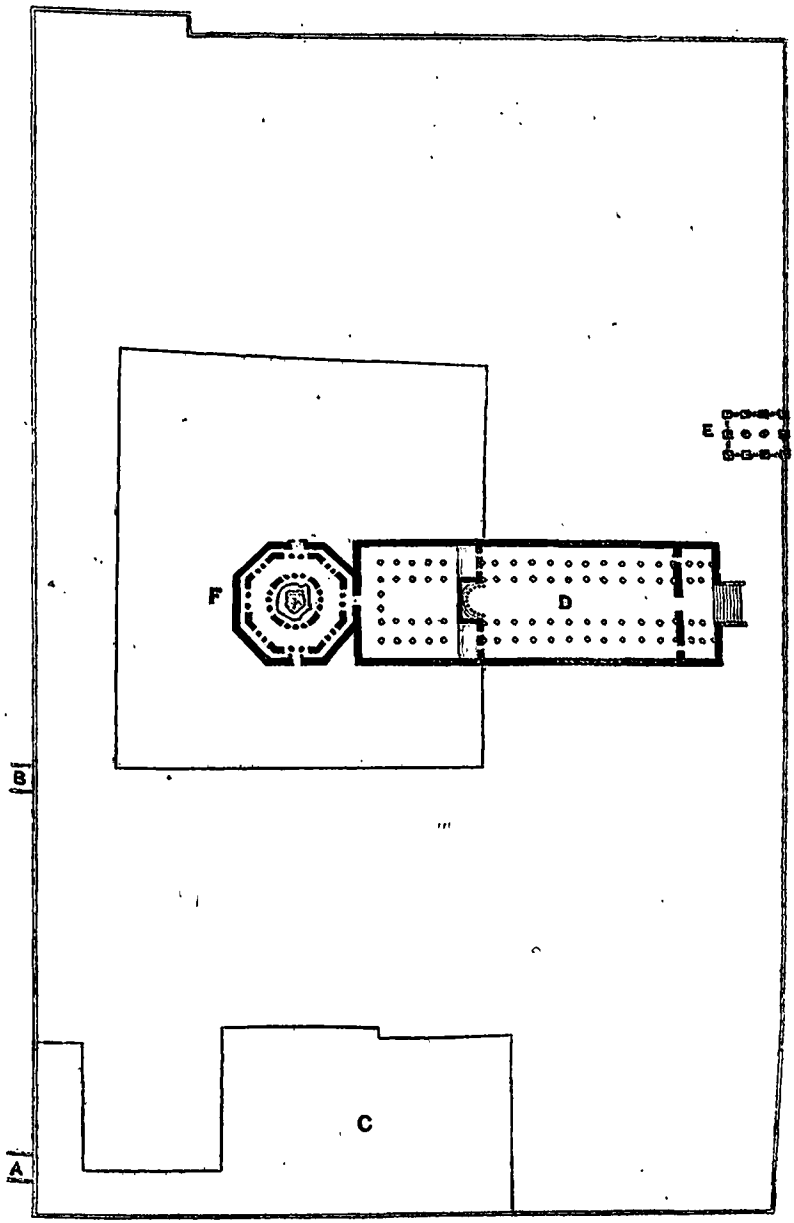
Such was the great Saracen building, El-Aksa, with its Holy Chapel within, erected on the site of the Inner Temple of the Jews, at the south-

west angle of the Haram, face to face with the Anastasis, or Church of the Holy Sepulchre.* It was a dangerous neighbourhood for the latter. Its safety, however, had been secured by a solemn covenant with Omar, who had sworn besides, and signed it with his autograph, that no other mosque besides that should be built in Jerusalem. 'Write,' said the Christian patriarch, 'Ne intra Hierosolyma exstruatur præter illud adoratorium Mohammedicum.' And Omar wrote. And the covenant was kept for more than 300 years, till the time of Eutychius, in 937 A.D., when 'the Mahometans,' says the annalist, 'tempore hoc nostro, broke the covenant of Omar, and seized half the vestibule of the Church of Constantine; and there, on the steps where Omar had prayed, at the eastern entrance, built a mosque, and called it the Mosque of Omar;† sibique sumentes dimidium vestibuli ecclesiæ in ipso oratorium exstruxerunt, quod oratorium Omari vocitârunt.'—Eut. *Ann.* p. 1100 ed. Migne. This is a most important historical fact, confirming the account of Arculfus in 697, and of Willibaldus in 786,

* See Plate IV. opposite. † See Plate V. p. 58.

EL-AKSA AND THE SEPULCHRE.

Pl. IV.



A Bridge; B Causeway; C El-Aska D Basilica and Court; E Propylæa; F The Anastasis.

and of Bernardus in 870 A.D., that the Anastasis and the Basilica which they had *seen* were still undefiled by Mahometan hands. One Caliph, indeed, had been more than tolerant. Al Mamun in 812-833 A.D., had a Christian prefect and two Christian chamberlains, who built churches with his approval; and we need not, therefore, wonder that he went even further, and aided the Christians personally by adorning their Anastasis with a magnificent roof; and—for I cannot receive the incredible imputation on his honour and his common sense that he had a lie in his right hand when he wrote the inscription—that he left his liberality on record even to this moment within the circle of the Dome.

But dark days were coming on the Church in Jerusalem. The Mahometan dynasty was changed more than once. Omar and his covenant were slighted. Orders were issued by El Hakem, the Fatimist Caliph, and the great Christian Basilica, the Ecclesia Resurrectionis, the church built by Constantine in honour of the Cross and the Resurrection, was levelled with the dust. That was in 1010 A.D., the commencement of the revolution spoken of by Marinus Sanuto (1321 A.D.). For, referring to

the Crusades, he says: 'The Turks captured Jerusalem from the Latins after they had held it for 88 years, and just about the same time it had been held by the Turks before.' 'Capta est Jerusalem à Turchis postquam annis 88 fuerat sub dominio Latinorum; et quasi tantundem prius fuerat à Turchis possessa.'—iii. 6, *Gesta Dei.*

That, then, we may well suppose was the unhappy period when the whole Haram was closed against the worshippers of Christ; when they were driven forcibly from their venerated Anastasis, which was then, for the first time, turned into a mosque; and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, thus desecrated by Mahometan superstition, became from that hour the Dome of the Rock.*

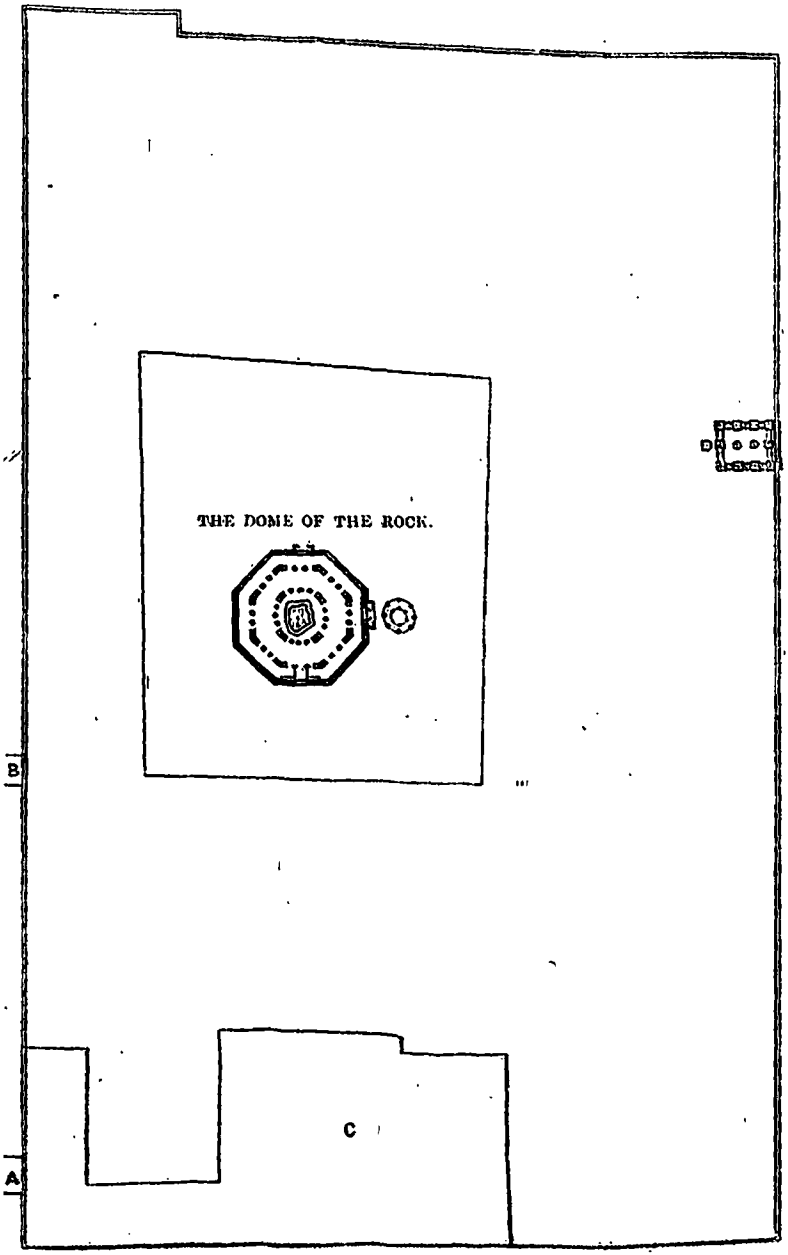
CONCLUSION.

When the Christians were driven from the Haram and shut out from the Holy Sepulchre, they were in a great strait. They were sore pressed besides by the cries of the pilgrims, and it is not

* See Plate opposite.

THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

Pl. V.



A Bridge; B Causeway; C El-Aksa; D Golden Gate.

surprising that they looked out at once for a substitute in some degree for what they had lost apparently for ever. We need not suppose that at the outset, when they raised memorials of The Sepulchre and the other holy places, they meant more than memorials (like those in other countries) of the Crucifixion, Burial, and Resurrection of their Redeemer, where they could pour out their grief, and give utterance to their exultation. But, by a natural process in minds full of enthusiasm and biassed by their wishes, the signs of the things were converted by degrees, as time went on, into the things they signified, and the people loved to have it so, and forgave and forgot the past. In this way for thirty-eight years they endured their deprivation of the Basilica, till at last the enemies of Christ relented. Funds were raised, permission was granted to rebuild the Basilica, the Church of the Resurrection. And they did so; but not quadrangular as before, but round; nor in the same spot; not in the east, on Mount Moriah from which they were shut out, but in the west, on Mount Sion. They had long chosen and occupied the spot with their humble oratory; but the position was ill-considered, and stood self-condemned. For, when

Constantine raised out of its grave the actual Sepulchre of Christ, and cleared away the earth, the Rock with its holy cave stood out 'erect and alone in a level land,' says Eusebius. The new memorial, however, and the new church placed over it, stood on the sloping side of Mount Sion. 'Now,' says William of Tyre, 'in devexo quod ad orientem respicit sita est Sanctæ Resurrectionis Ecclesia, formâ quidem rotundâ.' And its new position forced on them a contrivance, unheard of before, for lighting the building: the centre of its dome was left open, in order to admit the light, which the high overhanging cliff behind it would otherwise have obscured; 'ut clivus eidem eminens et contiguus ecclesiæ penè superet altitudinem et eam reddit obscuram;' 'and immediately underneath this opening the memorial of the Saviour is placed.'

After this the treatment of the poor Christians in Jerusalem for half a century was so absolutely shocking and intolerable that Europe, in indignation, rushed to their relief. On the arrival of the Crusaders, the new church of the Holy Sepulchre was greatly enlarged so as to embrace all the holy places around it; and the whole city being theirs, they seized, of course,

on its great glory, the Dome of the Rock. The crescent on its summit gave way to the Cross. The Holy Rock itself, encased in marble as of old, was turned into a Christian altar, and the building converted once more into a Christian church.

It was a short triumph, however, ending in their expulsion in 1188 A.D. The victorious and irritated Moslems tore down the cross and dragged it in dishonour through the streets, and then broke it to pieces; and purifying the whole building within with 'many camel-loads of rosewater,' devoted it to their worship, and guarded the Holy Rock, as they guard it now, and have guarded it for more than 700 years, from injury and insult.

Thus by a singular providence it has fallen to the lot of the descendants of Mahomet to do a double service of the deepest interest to Christendom: to be temporary conservators in Hebron of the tomb of Abraham, and of the Sepulchre of Christ on Mount Moriah, to this day.

POSTSCRIPT.

Beauty of the Christian Churches on Mount Moriah—The Propylæa—The two Mosques of Omar.

Of all beautiful buildings ever designed by man, the most perfect in beauty, it is thought, was the temple of Minerva, the Parthenon, which stood in its perfection, and now stands dilapidated, on the summit of the Acropolis at Athens. It was, says an accomplished traveller, 'the finest edifice on the finest site in the world, hallowed by the noblest recollections that can stimulate the human heart.'

And yet in some respects it must give way to the Memorial Churches of the Resurrection and the Cross on Mount Moriah. Constantine had Athens, as well as Jerusalem, under his eye, and he and his builders well knew the Acropolis and its Parthenon, which was then in its glory. And still his orders were that the new Christian Basilica and all its details should eclipse in beauty

and magnificence every edifice in every city in his empire: *οὐ μόνον βασιλικὴν τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ βελτίονα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοιαῦτα γίγνεσθαι ὡς πάντα τὰ ἐφ' ἑκάστης καλλιστεύοντα πόλεως ὑπὸ τοῦ κτίσματος τούτου νικᾶσθαι* (p. 500).

Let us, then, look at the whole range of these buildings as they came fresh from the hands of the builder and try to conceive their effect. Eusebius, who was present, and assisted at the dedication, shall be our guide. Starting from the great starting-point, the head of all, the graceful Anastasis, and crossing the centre of the cloister which formed the eastern vestibule of the church, we enter the large open court of the Basilica, beautifully paved with burnished stone, and with long cloisters on three of its sides. For, over against the eastern side of the Sacred Cave, and connected with it by means of this court, stands the royal Church, very lofty, and as magnificent as the most precious materials can make it. On each side, along the ground floor and the galleries, runs a double row of corridors, with chambers, all blazing, like the roof, with gold. We pass on through the Basilica to its three entrance doors at the east, so placed as to well admit the rising sun; and, looking back, we catch

a full view of the grand semicircular apse which is carried up to the roof, and within the hemisphere see twelve marble columns, with capitals richly carved and ornamented, in commemoration of the twelve apostles.

Passing through the church doors we come to a smaller open court, also containing cloisters; and, lastly, to the entrance doors of the court itself, on opening which we find ourselves in the great area—the agora—of The Temple mount.

Of the approaches to the Basilica and the Anastasis from the east I will speak by and by. At present I must go back for a moment to the Acropolis at Athens, to notice a particular feature in its composition, which has a counterpart, as I presume to think, in the architectural arrangement of the buildings of Constantine on Mount Moriah. A becoming approach to any buildings of importance is indispensable; and there are those who look on the grand triple-gated entrance to the Acropolis—the Propylæa—as among the most beautiful points for admiration in that consummate collection of works of art. But as you pass through it, and then pause, the special thing which strikes you is that, instead of its great

glory, the Parthenon, standing directly before you, it is withdrawn a little to the right. The design flashes upon you as you look; for the point of view is so accurately chosen, that the whole length of the left side of the building, together with the front of the temple and all its fine Doric columns, is thus fully exposed to sight.

It is not to be conceived that this was lost on the architects employed by Constantine; and so we find that there was an approach to the great Christian Temples from without the enclosure to the east—a double-gated entrance—the 'golden' Propylæa, suited to the sacred magnificence of the testimony to the Resurrection—the New Jerusalem.

The eastern wall of the enclosure was then comparatively modern. The wall of Agrippa, with which a few years after the Crucifixion he had enclosed Bezetha to the north and Mount Moriah to the east, and which joined on to the eastern wall of the ground taken in by Herod and connected with The Temple, had, with every other building on Mount Moriah, been levelled by Titus with the dust; and *when* it was rebuilt on the old site is by no means certain. There it was, however, in the time of Constantine; and

we owe it in the first place and entirely to the sagacity and professional science of Mr. Fergusson that, in full accordance with the architectural details of the Anastasis, the double-gated entrance —the Propylæa—to the 'New Jerusalem' is proved, as I humbly think, to exist in the 'Golden Gate.'

But not only was there here—as on the Acropolis—a becoming approach, but the very same design was employed to produce a similar effect.

The approach is thus described by Eusebius, very briefly but with great distinctness. After passing through the whole range of buildings from the Anastasis to the eastern entrance court of the Basilica, he takes us to the *approaches* before The Temple—τὰς πρὸ τοῦ νεὼ κειμένας εἰσόδους. When you are outside the Basilica, you behold to the left a double-gated entrance from the open country into the midst of a spacious agora—like the agora at Athens—for public meetings; as, for example, when priests and people, we may conceive, all met in the days of Jerome. A flight of locusts covered the land of Judea, and the people there met in alarm, and, passing through the Basilica, 'wept between the porch and the altar—" hoc est, inter Crucis et

Resurrectionis locum"—crying, "Spare thy people, O Lord!" and the wind wafted the locusts into the sea.' (Jerom. ad Joel, 2.)

Here, then, was the great approach to the sacred buildings, the richly ornamented *Propylæa*; and to persons making their entrance into the agora from without a most striking sight was thus presented to the eye by a diagonal view of the long range of edifices within. Μεθ' ἃς (meaning the αὔλειοι πύλαι) ἐπ' αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς τὰ τοῦ παντὸς Προπύλαια φιλοκάλως ἠσκημένα, τοῖς τὴν ἐκτὸς πορείαν ποιουμένοις, κατακληκτικὴν παρεῖχον τὴν τῶν ἔνδον ὁρωμένων θέαν.—Eus. *Vit. Con.* 3, xxxix.

Such was the work of Constantine on the platform of the Sacred Mount. It was beautiful for situation—the joy of the whole Christian world; and in one point it certainly stood unapproachable—in the most momentous and hallowed recollections that can stimulate the heart of man.*

* See Plate II. frontispiece.

On the Two Mosques of Omar.

The interview between the patriarch Sophronius and the caliph Omar has a very important bearing on our subject in many ways. For, taken with the testimony of Eutychius, it proves that from the year 637 A.D., when it occurred, to 937 A.D., when the annalist completed his work, no Christian church in Jerusalem was pulled down or occupied by the Moslems,—that no mosque was built in Jerusalem besides that of El-Aksa,—and that no Christian church was built on the site of The Temple, which was given up unreservedly and solely for the great Mosque of Omar.

When Omar had assured the inhabitants of Ælia,—which was Jerusalem,—through their delegate Sophronius, who went out to meet him, that their lives, children, possessions, and churches should be safe, and that no one should pull down or occupy the latter, he solemnly confirmed the covenant by witnesses. And then, on entering the city, he sat down in the innermost part of the Anastasis. The time having arrived

for prayer, he said to Sophronius, 'I wish to pray.' To whom the patriarch said, 'O commander of the faithful, pray where thou art!' Said Omar, 'I am loth to pray here.' Being led, therefore, to the temple of Constantine, the great Basilica, Sophronius spread a carpet in the middle of the temple. 'Nor here,' said he, 'am I willing to pray.' And going forth to the steps which are at the outer door of what the eastern patriarch Eutychius consistently calls the Church of *Saint* Constantine, he there prayed on the steps by himself. After that, sitting down he said, 'Knowest thou, O patriarch, wherefore I prayed not within the temple?' 'O commander of the faithful,' answered he, 'I know not wherefore indeed!' Omar said to him, 'Had I prayed within the temple, it would have been lost to thee and gone out of thine hands; for the Mohamedans after my death would have taken it from thee, and even now are about to say, Here prayed Omar. But bring me paper and I will sign a covenant.' He wrote, therefore, and commanded that no Mahometan should pray on those steps except singly, and that no prayer-meetings should be held there. 'And now,' he added, 'I may justly ask some-

what of thee: Give me a spot whereon I may build a temple for myself.'

It will make what follows more historically clear and consistent if I here introduce the following narrative from Scripture, with a comment from Vitriacus in his 'History of Jerusalem.' Jacob went out from Beersheba and went toward Haran; and he lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took of the stones of the place and put one of them for his pillow, and lay down in that place to sleep. And he dreamed, and behold a staircase of stone set up upon the earth, so lofty that the top of the stairs reached to heaven. And behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And behold the Lord stood above it, and said, 'I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it and to thy seed.' And then God blest him as He had before blest Abraham.

And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, 'Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not!' And he was afraid, and said, 'How dreadful is this place! This is none other

but the House of God, and this is the Gate of Heaven.' And he took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel—the House of God; but the name of that city was called Luz at the first. And Jacob vowed a vow saying, 'This stone which I have set for a pillar shall be God's House.'

And this very vow, says the comment of man, turned out a true prophecy, and was fulfilled in his seed. They did, in after times, build over the stone a house of God in Jerusalem; for Bethel and Luz and Jerusalem, it is said, were all one; though the Jews declare that the sacred stone was brought up to Jerusalem from Bethel. Vitriacus, however, speaks thus: In the days of Melchizedek, when the Lord commanded Abraham to go out from his country and his kindred and his father's house, he came into the land of promise and there dwelt many days, and offered up his son in the Mount of Vision, that is, on Mount Moriah, in the city of Jerusalem, which was called of old Bethel and Luz. Hence it is said by some, that the spot and the stone on which Jacob laid his head—the spot which is

called in Genesis Luz and Bethel—was no other than the actual spot where Solomon built The Temple of the Lord. (Gesta Dei, c. i.)

We can now understand the tradition of Eutychius. When Omar had begged of Sophronius a spot on which to build himself a temple, the patriarch replied, 'O commander of the faithful! thou shalt have such a spot, a spot which the rulers of the Greeks (with a special reference to the abortive attempt of Julian) were unequal to command—the very spot where God spoke to Jacob—the spot of the Petra, which was called by Jacob the Gate of Heaven, but by the Israelites the Holy of Holies. And it is the centre of the earth, and was the sacrarium of the Israelites, who greatly revere it, and turn their faces to it in prayer, wherever they may be. I give it thee on this condition—that thou sign with thy signature that no other Mahometan house of prayer shall be built in Jerusalem besides that.'

And then Eutychius goes on to retrace the history of The Temple and its site, and observes that, when the Romans were converted to Christianity, and Christian churches were built at Jerusalem, the place of the Petra and all around

it was desolated, and so left. And over the Petra itself such heaps of dirt had been thrown that the Romans scorned the spot, and even the Israelites withheld their respect, and built no place of worship there, in fulfilment of the prophecy, 'Behold your house is left unto you desolate.' And again: 'There shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down.' In consequence of these prophecies the Christians also left it desolate, and built no church upon it.

So, when Omar had signed the covenant, the patriarch took him by the hand and led him to the heap over the Petra; and at once the great Caliph set the example, and his people laboured with him, and the heap by degrees was carried away and thrown over into the valley, and the Petra, cleansed and purified from the filth, stood forth to view.

Then Omar built a Mahometan temple on the spot which Sophronius gave him, and placed the Petra behind it.

The sequel adds another interesting fact to this narrative. Eutychius concluded his annals in 937 A.D., two years before his death. The followers of Omar for three hundred years kept

the covenant which he made with Sophronius in 637 A.D., and the Christian churches of Golgotha, the Basilica, and the Anastasis 'exist even now,' says the annalist, 'precisely in the state in which they were restored by Modestus—eâ, quæ jam exstat, fabricâ.' But in the Caliphate of El-Radi, 934–940 A.D., the great revolution commenced, and the tide turned which almost overwhelmed the Christians and their churches in 1010 A.D.; for in 937 A.D. the Moslems, after raising a tumult in the great and only Mosque of Jerusalem—the El-Aksa—rushed out and fired the southern doors of the Basilica and half its vestibule, and ended by ravaging and desecrating the spot of Golgotha, and of the Anastasis as well. 'Cranii etiam locum cum Resurrectionis vastârunt.' In which passage of Eutychius it is to be observed, that the word [templo], which I have ignored, has been foisted in by some commentator, leaving it, however, in brackets.

Not only so. They violated the covenant of Omar at the same time, by publicly praying and calling to prayer on the steps of the Basilica where he had prayed; 'and appropriating to themselves half of its vestibule, built a mosque on the very spot, and called it the Mosque of

Omar: 'sibique sumentes dimidium vestibuli ecclesiæ, in ipso oratorium exstruxerunt, quod oratorium Omari vocitârunt.'

It so happens that at this moment there is a small mosque at the eastern door of that building, which I assume to be the Anastasis. It is no very bold conjecture that, when the Basilica was destroyed by El-Hakem in 1010 A.D., the oratory built on its eastern steps, where Omar had actually prayed, must have fallen at the same time, and that out of the ruins of some Christian church it was rebuilt as a memorial of Omar's devotion at the eastern door of the Anastasis—the Dome of the Rock—now become a Mahometan temple.* 'Oratorium Omari vocitârunt.' The little mosque has now no name, or rather it has many names, and all fanciful, and no one is satisfied. Certainly no one is satisfied with the title of the greater mosque. What more probable, then, than that the smaller mosque in due season gave up its title to its graceful but anonymous neighbour, which has ever since that been falsely named the Mosque of Omar?

* See Plate V. p. 58.

This, I believe, is the only conjecture in which I have indulged from the beginning of my correspondence on the subject of The Temple and The Sepulchre to the end. In the foregoing Letters it has been my wish all through to take the plain words of the best authorities, and, giving them their plain meaning, to follow them unhesitatingly to the point to which they have led. I have not lost sight of the admirable scheme for sending explorers to Jerusalem to dig out the truth from under the city; and yet I have thought it unnecessary to wait for the distant result. For, the written truth lies on the surface at home, and a more active search may find it—if this has failed—in the pages of Josephus, Eusebius, and Socrates,—of Adamnanus, Eutychius, and William of Tyre.

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